1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

through levirate, was too old. In some cases the second wife, who was obtained through levirate, is the younger of the two. Only in two cases did I find that both wives had children, and in neither of these cases were levirate customs involved. On the other hand, in three cases of men having two wives, neither wife had children. Their barrenness, accordingly, must be attributed to the husband. The only man with three wives whom I saw was the elder of the Taigonos Reindeer Koryak.[1] He had children by his first wife; but she became ill, evidently with hereditary syphilis, and her face is so deformed that she covers it up whenever an outsider enters the tent. His second wife is barren; and from the youngest, the third wife, he has offspring. In one case, a young man who married an old woman, his uncle's widow, through levirate, took into his house a little girl, and began to live with her after she had grown older. She seemed about sixteen years old when I saw her, and she was pregnant at the time. Such marriages with minors were more common in former times. Generally speaking girls marry when twenty years old, or even older.

It is interesting to note that the greater number of monogamous marriages among the Reindeer Koryak coincides with the greater number of men as compared with women among them.

The statistics of the official census for 1897 have been discussed before (p. 445). I myself made a detailed census of the Maritime Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye to the three Itkana villages, inclusive, and of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula and along the Tilqai River. According to my count, there were 102 women to every 100 men among the Maritime Koryak, and but 89 women to every 100 men among the Reindeer Koryak. The ratio of women to men which I obtained among the Maritime Koryak was identical with the one I found in the official census of all the Maritime Koryak. But the percentage of women among the Reindeer Koryak which I obtained was even below the census of 1897, which gives 90.8 females for each 100 males. This may possibly be explained by the fact that I took the census after an epidemic of measles which had carried off more women than men, and left many widowers.

Judging from both myths and actual observation, it seems that the prevailing form of marriage among the Koryak is monogamic, and that polygyny kept up by the custom of levirate and the desire of having an offspring when the first wife is barren. However, in certain traditions which I heard, relating to a past by no means remote, stories are told of strong men, who were good warriors and skilful hunters, and who had harems of women taken by force from their fellow-tribesmen. A cavern on the rocky coast of Penshina Bay was pointed out to me as the dwelling-place of such

[1] According to Dittmar, when he visited the Taigonos Peninsula, the elder had four wives (Dittmar, Die Korjaken, p. 25).

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795 173 a "woman-snatcher." He would lie in wait for Koryak boats passing by, and would take away the wives of the oarsmen. A similar tale[1] is found among the myths. Worm-Man, who carried away many women after slaying their husbands and brothers, takes away the wife of Eme'mqut. He is slain by the latter. Eme'mqut brings back to life the husbands and brothers of the women whom Worm-Man had captured, and restores to their families the wives and sisters, whom he sets free. Many of the brothers give their sisters to Eme'mqut. He retains only three of them: the others he distributes among his brothers and his cousin Illa'.

595 In a household with more than one wife, the first is considered the mistress of the house. The second wife consults the first in everything, and carries out her instructions. In the majority of cases the wives live in harmony. When intending to take a second wife, the husband usually consults with the first one. An old woman who has grown-up daughters to help her in housekeeping, often asks her husband to take a second, younger wife. But some women are jealous, especially if the second marriage was contracted against their will, and quarrel with the second wife. In myths, too, we find cases of hostile relations between wives, and even of the murder of one wife by another. In one case the first wife cuts off the second wife's nose.[2] Here I will relate a characteristic case from the life of a man who had two wives. A Koryak from Kamenskoye, Qačilqut by name, whom I have mentioned several times, and whose first wife was childless, courted the young widow of a deceased distant relative of his. For a long time he could not take her to his house, as his first wife was opposed to their marriage. Finally, despite the objections of the first wife, he brought his second wife to his house. During the husband's absence, the first wife often beat and tortured the second one. Sometimes she would prick her face with a needle. The second wife bore everything in silence, and did not complain to her husband. This finally appeased the jealousy of the first wife, and they now live in peace. All this was told me by Qačilqut's first wife herself. She is a very bright, energetic woman, and still young. Her husband is a merchant. When he goes on a business trip to the Reindeer Koryak, she accompanies him as his clerk, and always brings some present for her friend, the second wife. Like the other polygynous Koryak, they all sleep in one sleeping-tent, — the husband in the middle, the first wife to his right, the second to his left.

581 In connection with this subject should be mentioned the cases of men transformed into women, which in former times were not uncommon, and were called qava'u or qeve'u.[3] Like the ancient Kamchadal koe'kčuč[4] and

[1] See Part I, p. 145. [2] Ibid., pp. 229, 256, 294. [3] Ibid., p. 32.
[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, pp. 174, 222; Steller, p. 212.

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turages. Besides, in the days when might was right, herds were often taken by force through direct attack of the herd-owner: they had to be always watched, arms in hand. The Reindeer Chukchee, in their invasions of the Koryak Reindeer camps, would ultimately reach the sea and attack the settlements of the Maritime Koryak. The northern villages of the Kerek are still subject to oppression by the Reindeer Chukchee, who, as the Koryak, often rob the Kerek of their stores, and exact service from them.

We have some traditions recording wars between the Kamchadal and the Koryak. Without doubt, such wars occured often, as well as lesser feuds between the various groups of each of these two peoples; but what may be concluded from the traditions is, that no such antagonism existed between the Kamchadal and the Koryak as between the latter and the Chukchee and Yukaghir. This could possibly be explained by the fact that in northern Kamchatka the settlements of the Maritime Koryak are in direct contact with the settlements of the Kamchadal. It would have been hard to draw an ethnographic line between these settlements. Marriages between the peoples were common, and the border region was populated by a mixed people.

The Kamchadal obtained from the Reindeer Koryak, through barter, hides for clothing, and these trading-relations were peaceful. In olden times the Reindeer Koryak did not advance in Kamchatka farther south than Tighil. The subsequent movement of the Reindeer Koryak along the western slope of the Kamchatka ridge southward led to complaints from the Kamchadal, who accused the reindeer-breeders of driving away their game-animals or of killing them out of the hunting-season. To regulate these conditions, the Russian authorities require from the Reindeer Koryak, that whenever they pass to the Kamchadal territory, they shall secure the consent of the neighboring Kamchadal villages and abstain from hunting earlier than the Kamchadal hunters. On the other hand, the Kamchadal derive benefits from the close proximity of the Reindeer Koryak; for, outside of the advantages of barter, the Koryak kill reindeer for the Kamchadal in times of famine. Still the Koryak are not admitted to the valley of the Kamchatka River.

The relations of the Koryak to the Yukaghir and Tungus will be discussed more fully in the work on the Yukaghir. Besides, the Koryak at present scarcely ever meet the Yukaghir. Only those of the Reindeer Koryak who during the winter traverse the Stanovoi Mountains to the valleys of the Korkodon and the Omolon Rivers, come in contact with the Korkodon Yukaghir. Their relations with the Yukaghir are rather of a beneficial character. The Yukaghir are too poor to carry on regular barter. Generally they induce the reindeer-owners to give them some hides and a little deer-meat for nothing. The Tungus, who before the advent of the Russians, were constantly at war with the Koryak, began, after the subjection of the country by Russia, to penetrate the unoccupied localities in the Koryak terri-

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relatively mild. However, it is swept by cold sea winds; in winter, there are severe snowstorms and a great deal of snow.

The animal world is represented by forest fauna (fox, squirrel, ermine, brown bear, chipmunk, black grouse, wood-grouse, magpies, nutcrackers, crows, etc.), tundra fauna (polar fox in the north, polar bear, encountered in the east, reindeer, polar partridge) and mountain fauna (mountain sheep), as well as some living fossils, such as yevrazhta hamster and Siberian marmot. One should also mention the variety of sea birds—eider, gulls, etc., and vast numbers of migratory birds which come in spring, including geese, ducks, snipe, swans, etc. The rivers, lakes and sea waters abound in fish. Most important for fishing are salmon species (Siberian humpback, silver chinook, etc.), herring, uyek (Mallotus villosus socialis), cod, etc. The Sea of Okhotsk and Bering Sea abound in sea animals (whale, killer whale, white whale, and several species of seal).

The Koryak language belongs, together with Chukchi and Itel'men, to the same group of northeastern paleo-Asiatic languages. It is close to Chukchi in vocabulary and morphology. The languages of the Chukchi and Koryaks are so similar that they understand each other.

The Koryak subgroups enumerated above speak 9 dialects. The main distinctions among the dialects are phonetic. They differ to a considerably smaller degree morphologically, and even less, in vocabulary. By their principal phonetic and morphological characteristics, the dialects fall into two groups—southern and northern. The dialects of the Koryak language probably stem from the languages of the Koryak tribes into which the Koryaks were divided in the past.

The problem of Koryak origin has not been studied sufficiently. The few archaeological investigations carried out in the northwestern part of Kamchatka and along the Okhotsk coast have uncovered remains of old dugouts, stone and bone implements, and pottery. These findings may evidently be attributed to the ancestors of the modern Koryaks. The Evens of the Okhotsk Sea coast attribute the dugouts to Koryaks and point to the clay utensils as a characteristic feature of the life of the old inhabitants.

In the 17th-19th centuries, the villages of the coastal Koryaks extended considerably farther than they do today. Koryak villages on the Okhotsk Sea coast reached to Tauy Gulf. On the coast of the Bering Sea, their villages were encountered in the 17th-18th centuries, almost up to the mouth of the Anadyr'. The expansion of the Evens on the Okhotsk Sea coast, which was especially intensive in the 18th century, narrowed the territory of the sedentary Koryaks. While the coastal Koryaks may be seen as the direct heirs of the most ancient neolithic culture of northern Kamchatka and the Okhotsk Sea coast, the problem of the origin of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks—the Chavchuvens—is unclear. Some investigators consider them as the descendants of coastal Koryaks, who developed reindeer-breeding under the influence of their neighbors, the Evens. The question of the dates and manner of the spread of reindeer-breeding among the Koryaks requires further study.

The oral folklore of the peoples of the Far Northeast attests to the close relations between Koryaks and their neighbors—the Chukchi, Evens, Yukagirs and Itel'mens. These relations were expressed, on the one hand, in intertribal barter, and on the other, in armed conflicts. Numerous Koryak and Chukchi legends relate that the northern neighbors of the Koryaks—the Chukchi—attacked them, drove off their reindeer, and carried off men and women as captives. Koryak folklore also tells of hostile clashes between coastal and reindeer-breeding Koryaks, which occurred before the coming of the Russians.

In summer, during the fish-runs, all reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy migrated to the mouths of rivers, where they lived with their sedentary kinsmen and worked with them, preparing stocks of fish for the winter. The reindeer herds remained at this time in the care of herdsmen—the boys of the family. This second type of Koryak reindeer-breeding originated much later than the first.

The hunting of sea animals (various species of seal and white whale) was the principal occupation of the northern sedentary Koryaks, who lived on the coast of Penzhina Bay: Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantsy. It also played an important role among the rest of the sedentary Koryaks: the Kereks, Apukintsy, Palantsy, Karagintsy, and sedentary Alyutortsy.

Sea hunting was done during two seasons: spring and fall. The spring season began in mid-March and ended in the latter part of June.

The hunters, armed with rifles and spears, drove out in parties of 78 men, or more, by dogsleds on the sea ice, 5 to 10 kilometers from shore. The seals, which climbed out on the ice, were shot with rifles. The kill was loaded on the sled, and the hunters returned to their village either the same or the following day, after a night on the ice. In a party of 78 men, 2 usually had guns, while the rest brought in the catch, loaded it on the sled and transported it; some were simply onlookers. In May, when open water appeared among the ice floes, sea hunting was done in baydars (skin boats).

The fall season began in mid-September and ended in the latter half of November. The fall hunting was also done in baydars and barkasy [flat-bottomed plank boats]. The animals were caught with nets of sealskin strips.

Long ago, the Koryaks hunted whales. According to legends and literary sources of the 18th century, the hunt was conducted with a huge net, woven of thick strips of leather. Large stones were used as sinkers. The net was attached to coastal cliffs and crags. Dozens of baydars, each with more than 10 hunters, armed with harpoons, sailed out into the sea. The hunters drove the whale into the net, in which it became entangled. The heavy sinkers made it impossible for the whale to swim out into the sea with the net. The hunters showered him with spears. Wounded and exhausted, the whale died, and the hunters joined forces to pull him ashore. The Alyutortsy also used joined boats instead of baydars in hunting whales.

The skins of sea animals were used for straps and boot-soles. The meat and blubber were eaten and stocked. The blubber also provided light. To the Kamentsy, Parentsy and Itkantsy, the products of sea hunting—blubber, skins, and sometimes meat as well—served as the principal media of barter with the reindeer-breeders, from whom they obtained deerskins and meat.

Fishing had long been the main occupation of the eastern sedentary Koryaks of the Bering Sea coast: the Karagintsy, the sedentary Alyutortsy and the Apukintsy. Fishing was also important to the western sedentary Koryaks—the Palantsy, and the northern ones—the Kereks—and somewhat less for the settled Koryaks on the Penzhina—Kamentsy, Parentsy and Itkantsy. Fishing was done throughout the summer and early fall season—from mid-June to the middle of September.

The most widespread method of fishing was by means of barriers. The river was fenced off from either bank with two barriers of stakes and twigs. At the place where they met, the fishermen attached under the water a chiruch (a sack-net) or a "muzzle," made of strips of wood, laths or twigs. Such barriers were set in shallow places, where the fishermen could work during shoal runs without boats or kungasy [sailboats]. The "muzzles" were emptied several times a day. During the heavy runs of fish (Siberian salmon and other migrating salmon species), the Koryaks moved to the mouths of rivers. Here groups of households combined into cooperatives and fished

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of the legends describe the various adventures and tricks of the raven; they represent him as a cunning lecherous old man who constantly deceives his wife Miti and his numerous sons and daughters. 773

Some of the legends deal with the adventures of the raven's older son Ememkut (or Amamkut), a much nobler and more heroic figure than his father. The characters in the legends about the raven Kuykynnyaku and about Ememkut are half-human, half-animal: wolf-like, bear-like, fox-like, magpie-like and partridge-like creatures, a root-man, a grass-woman, and many others. These beings act like people, but they also possess the qualities of the animal or plant whose name they bear.

Historical legends, in contrast to the myths which are prevalent among all the Koryaks, are of a local nature: each territorial group of Koryaks has its own cycle of legends. The Chavchuvens, for example, have stories of clashes with Chukchi; the Apukintsy, of clashes with reindeer-breeding Chavchuvens; the Palantsy, of wars with the Evens. The legends of each cycle are centered about the figure of a hero, who is different for every Koryak group. He is called enkhivyl''yn (literally—"strong man," a term close to the Russian "bogatyr'"). 173 [184] [648]

However, the figures of the heroes of all legendary cycles are endowed with the same traits; there are also recurrent motifs, such as attacks on sleeping enemies, deception of enemies with the aid of dummies, or turning enemies to flight by hitting dry skins, creating the sound of footsteps of a rapidly approaching, noisy horde, etc.

Of special interest in Koryak folklore are stories about masters and their workers. These reflect the social stratification which was so pronounced among reindeer-breeding Koryaks at the time of the Revolution. A special subdivision of folk literature dealing with daily life consisted of tales about lucky and unlucky hunters. The Koryaks had also borrowed many Russian tales, but these were changed to such an extent that they were often difficult to distinguish. 773

The Koryaks had few proverbs and riddles. Their songs were also few. 538

Among their musical instruments, we must also mention, in addition to the tambourine, the vanniyayar—literally, "tooth tambourine." This was a device widely found in Siberia: it consisted of a bone or iron plate, with a little tongue cut out in the center. At the base of this tongue was a tiny hole, through which a cord of reindeer sinew was drawn. The plate is held between the lips and the cord is pulled. The vibration of the little tongue produces a low, monotonous hum, resembling the muted sounds of a tambourine; the mouth cavity serves as the resonator. 534

Dances were usually performed during the seasonal celebrations. These were ritualistic, almost always representing extremely naturalistic imitations of the movements of seal, bears, reindeer and ravens. They were accompanied with a characteristic, deeply guttural, hoarse singing. The dancers were chiefly women. 535 [533]

At the seasonal festivals there were also various games and contests: wrestling, foot races, reindeer and dog races, and tossing of people in seal skins. 296 526

The Koryaks produced a large variety of artistic objects of bone, skins, the skin and hair of reindeer, silk, copper and iron plates, etc. The men made bone tobacco boxes with carved or engraved figures of animals, birds and men; bone pipes, ornamented with lead or tin and decorated with figures of bears, wolves, dogs, reindeer, and seals. The women specialized in fur ornamentation with beads, silk and reindeer hair. The fur patterns adorning the hems of Koryak clothes and hats were in the form of mosaics of pieces of black and white reindeer fur. They were either geometrical (squares, 32 531 532 462 294 531 [462]